UNITY

FREEDOM FELLOWSHIP AND CHARACTER IN RELIGION

(Jenkin Lloyd Jones, Editor 1880-1918)

Editors

John Haynes Holmes Francis Neilson

To the Women of America

By EDMUND HENRY REEMAN

What the Mob Mind Does!

By CHARLES F. DOLE

Results of the Washington Conference

By JAMES G. McDONALD

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JOHN HAYNES HOLMES : *Editors* : FRANCIS NEILSON

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UNITY

"HE HATH MADE OF ONE ALL NATIONS OF MEN"

VOL. LXXXVIII. THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 16, 1922 NUMBER 23

Where the mind is without fear and the head is held high;
Where knowledge is free;
Where the world has not been broken into fragments by narrow domestic walls;
Where words come out from the depths of truth;
Where tireless striving stretches its arms toward perfection;
Where the clear stream of reason has not lost its way into the dreary desert sand of dead habit;
Where the mind is led forward by Thee into ever-widening thought and action—
Into that heaven of freedom, my Father, let my country wake.

—Rabindranath Tagore.

The latest accession to UNITY's group of Foreign Representatives is one of the proudest of all. We refer to

STEFAN ZWEIG

of Austria, who writes us from Salzburg, under date of January 22nd, "I received also UNITY, and I am very pleased to be the helper in such an idealistic and human enterprise." Herr Zweig is one of the most distinguished of European scholars and literary men. He has recently become well known to Americans through his biography of Romain Rolland, already reviewed at length in our columns. Another important book of his is announced for publication this coming spring by Thomas Seltzer. Stefan Zweig's attitude on the great questions of the hour is revealed in his reverence for Romain Rolland as the master of his intellectual and spiritual being. Himself a pacifist, unalterably opposed to war, he seeks, to quote the words of Rolland,

"to build higher and stronger, dominating the injustice and hatred of nations, the walls of that city wherein the souls of the whole world may assemble." Thus is he one of that little company of chosen spirits "which preserves its faith in the unity of human thought and believes that all men are sons of the same Father."

We welcome him with gratitude and gladness to our fellowship!

The passing of Lincoln's birthday brings to mind an amazing page in Albert Rhys Williams's book, "Through the Russian Revolution." In Nijni, the author spent a night in the home of Sartov, a mechanic. Describing the experience, he writes (page 15):

The family slept on the floor, insisting that I take the bed, because I was an American. In this room I found another American. In the soft gleam of the ikon-light, his face looked down at me from the wall, the great, homely, rugged face of Abraham Lincoln. From that pioneer's hut in the woods of Illinois, he had made his way to this workingman's hut here upon the Volga. Across half a century and half a world, the fire in Lincoln's heart had leaped to touch the heart of a Russian workman groping for the light. As his wife paid her devotion to St. Nicholas, the great Wonder-Worker, so he paid his devotion to Lincoln, the great Emancipator. He had given Lincoln's picture the place of honor in his home. And then he had done a startling thing. On the lapel of Lincoln's coat he had fixed a button, a large red button, bearing on it the word, B-o-l-s-h-e-v-i-k.

To the ordinary American, this simple act of the Russian laborer is a thing of horror—a profanation. And yet, as Mr. Williams points out (page 16), it was "as an act of highest tribute he had decorated Lincoln with this emblem of red." That Sartov may not have been wholly wrong in his idea is at least suggested by such an affirmation of revolutionary democracy as Lincoln set forth in his first Inaugural Address. *"This country, with its institutions, belongs to the people who inhabit it. Whenever they shall grow weary of the existing government, they can exercise their constitutional right of amending it, or their revolutionary right to dismember or overthrow it."* This sentiment doesn't make Abraham Lincoln a Bolshevik; but it does make him a sympathizer with struggles of the people anywhere to rid themselves of tyranny.

The one substantial outcome of the Washington Conference is the agreement to scrap certain dreadnaughts, and preserve a ratio of armament strength as between England, Japan and the United States of 5-5-3. Secretary Hughes's original program of scrapping capital ships and establishing a naval holiday was seriously weakened by Japan's insistence on retaining the *Mutsu*. The submarine and poisonous gas covenants are worth something less than the paper they are written on. The Far East treaties are a handsome camouflage for as fine a scheme of joint exploitation and profit as any set of bandits ever palmed off on a suspecting public; the one comfort in this case is the assurance, growing stronger every day, that there is about as much chance of these treaties passing the Senate as there is of the green seas running dry. But the naval agreement, as far as it goes at least, is a real achievement. We *have* got a partial scrapping of armaments in the field where armaments are most expensive and conspicuous, and therefore most dangerous; and, what is even more important, we have got a beginning of the end of the principle of competitive preparedness. We need not be so infantile as to believe that this means that the great powers have suddenly decided to put by war forever, and that the war-menace has therefore been removed; as a matter of fact, this menace has scarcely been touched at all! We shall look in vain for any motives of altruism or

pacifism in this action of the Conference; nothing more beautiful has transpired than the reluctant discovery that dreadnaughts are out-of-date, and so costly that their unlimited construction means certain bankruptcy! But whatever the forces at work here, the result is the same. What has never been achieved before—a step in the direction of the ending of competitive armaments—has now been taken, and it is "up" to us to recognize it and make the most of it. What we have at last is a definite *check* to the preparedness mania. The insane armament race of the last half-century falters for the first time since it began. The militarist is beneath the curb! The problem and the menace of war, as we have said, are still with us. But one aspect of the problem and the menace, known as preparedness, has been tentatively taken in hand, and to this extent the Conference is not in vain!

This is the day of the pacifist! Not only the logic of events ever since the close of the Great War, but the confessions of all honest scholars and public men, confirm the right of every position that he has held since 1914! The latest illustration is Preparedness. From the beginning, the pacifist fought the preparedness movement, and denounced it as wrong in principle and false in method. For a while President Wilson was with him, only to be later swept away into the insanity of the armament propaganda. Still the pacifist continued his campaign of opposition, was slandered by every epithet of insult from "pro-German" to traitor, and at last was beaten! Now comes President Harding, with his honest statement at the close of the Disarmament Conference: "I once believed," he said, "in armed preparedness. I advocated it. But I have come now to believe there is better preparedness in a public mind and a world opinion made ready to grant justice precisely as it exacts it." Verily, verily, this is the day of the pacifist.

Will the Dyer Anti-Lynching Bill pass the Senate? This is now one of the most important questions before the American public. The passage of the Bill in the House of Representatives by the large majority of 230 to 119 represents the climax of years of patient and costly agitation by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. Through an impressive accumulation of data, this organization demonstrated the prevalence of the lynching habit; its spread from southern to northern communities, its growing cruelty, and the utter inability or unwillingness of local authorities to take effective action against such open defiance of law and order. What was originally a Georgia, or Mississippi or Illinois disgrace is now a national disgrace; throughout the length and breadth of the civilized world lynching is today the shame of America. Which means that the time has come for the nation, as a federal unit, to take action for the vindication of its law and the protection of its sacred name! It is this which the Dyer Anti-Lynching Bill undertakes to accomplish by measures which hold the approval of lawyers, social workers, and experts on the Negro question. The last-ditch fight against this legislation is now "on" in the United States Senate, where there is almost boundless opportunity for delay, compromise and ultimate betrayal. Only a loud and determined expression of public opinion can hasten, or even perhaps secure at all, the passage of the Bill. We hope that every American reader of UNITY will write his Senators at once, and urge their support of this anti-lynching measure!

It is great good news that Jane Addams is soon to publish a book on the pacifists in war-time, to be known as "Peace and Bread in Time of War." We count it especially significant that this book should have been written, as we understand, at the special solicitation of the publishers. Evidently the popular interest has so far swung from the old pro-war position of 1917-1919 to the unchanging pacifist position, that publishers, who issue books for profit, think a statement of pacifism will be commercially successful. There could be no more impressive vindication of pacifism than this. Time, after all, does tell; the future thus early is beginning to record its judgment! Those who desire to taste the book at once will be interested to know that advance instalments are being published in the New York *Survey*. In these chapters Miss Addams presents a remorselessly acute and yet perfectly fair study of the Wilson policies from 1914 to 1917; explains most effectively the constructive measures for which the pacifists stood in those trying days; and sets down with beautiful simplicity the psychological reactions of the men and women who would not, or could not, go to war. How penetrating such a typical passage as this!—

> We certainly had none of the internal contentment of the doctrinaire, the ineffable solace of the self-righteous, which was imputed to us. No one knew better than we how feeble and futile we were against the impregnable weight of public opinion, the appalling imperviousness, the coagulation of motives, the universal confusion of a world at war.

If these preliminary chapters are any criterion, Miss Addams has written a great book, and one sadly needed as the faithful record of a movement which, more than any other, redeems the war from utter shame. We believe that the book will find a permanent place as an historical document of the first importance.

On the fourth of February Georg Brandes, the great Danish critic and literary interpreter, reached his eightieth birthday. In his very interesting volume of reminiscences of the first forty years of his life, Brandes relates that as a schoolboy he went home one day and asked his mother, "What is a Jew?" and she replied, "Look in the mirror and you will see one." By race a Jew he was not trained as one, and there is

nothing whatever of the sectarian in the man or in his work. His has undoubtedly been the most cosmopolitan and international mind produced in Europe during the last century. Taking a large interest in the culture and literature of his own and the other Scandinavian countries, and writing much about them, he has not been the less familiar with the literatures of the other European countries. A radical in thought and opinions, he was little recognized in Denmark for many years. He traveled widely in Europe, lived for some years in Berlin, lectured in Germany, Poland and Russia, as well as in Copenhagen, and out of these literary adventures grew his books on Russia and Poland. In 1872 he began the publication of his lectures in the form of the "Main Streams in the Literature of the Nineteenth Century," now to be read in English in six volumes. Devoted to the literatures of Europe during the first half of the last century, this work gave especial attention to the origin, development and culmination of the romantic movement in European literature. Among the many other works produced by Brandes are his studies of Disraeli, Lassalle, Ibsen, Anatole France, Björnson, and Nietzsche. His interpretation of Shakespeare is regarded as the most comprehensive and profoundest as yet produced. All in all, Brandes stands at the head of living critics, for the comprehensiveness of his thought, the breadth of his studies, the international character of his mind, and the nobility of his writing.

There has recently died in London H. M. Hyndman, one of the most widely known of English Socialists, and one of the greatest of the interpreters of Karl Marx. With a university training, large opportunities of travel and intercourse with the leading men of Europe in all countries, he possessed wealth and high social position. Early in his life he published "The Historical Basis of Socialism," which has been for many years a standard authority on the subject. One of his latest books is "The Evolution of Revolution," produced only two or three years before his death. He has also ably treated the commercial crises of the nineteenth century, and the future of democracy. In these volumes Hyndman's Socialism found further interpretation. His books on "The Bankruptcy of India," and "The Awakening of Asia" must be classed as among the ablest expositions of the new tendencies developing throughout Asia. One of his latest books was devoted to "Clemenceau: the Man and his Time." Having an intimate acquaintance with this French statesman, and giving an appreciative account of his life and work, nevertheless, Hyndman clearly sees the tendencies developed in this man, which have become to a large degree those of all France, and seem at this moment to be bringing it to ruin and the downfall of Europe. No one can read "The Record of an Adventurous Life," and "Further Reminiscences" without recognizing Hyndman's culture, refinement, breadth of mind, and courage of conviction. That a man of large personal acquaintance in his own and other countries, who had every opportunity of education and social position, could be a Socialist may be a surprise to many in this country; but there can be no doubt that Hyndman was as thorough-going a Socialist as any proletarian England has produced. He was thoroughly a Marxian, accepted the principle of economic determinism to the fullest extent, and never hesitated to avow his Socialist convictions.

To the Women of America

These words are addressed to you because of the new part you are called to play in human affairs; and because the part you will play is of inestimable importance to the future of America and the world at large. Women have always played a large and important part in the world's affairs; far larger and more important, indeed, than we sometimes recognize. Nor has it by any means always been an obscure part. There was Cleopatra, for instance, who I suspect must have had many sterling qualities beyond her beauty to account for her extraordinary influence in the political events of the century before Christ. And there was Hypatia who for twenty-five years at least played a tremendous part in the learning and culture of ancient Alexandria—that city whose contributions to human thought have never been excelled.

In England there were such queens as Mary I and Mary Stuart, who, although their influence was on the side of things that intensified deep rooted hostilities, were none the less a potent influence in the political life of England. Of another order were Elizabeth and Victoria who through long years piloted the ship of British State through many stormy and troublous seas.

These, however, are but a few illustrious names chosen at random from a vast company of women whose power and influence have stamped their names deeply upon history. Innumerable is the company of women who have played less conspicuous, but often equally important parts in the affairs of history. Women like the Pilgrim mothers of America, without whose aid even the Pilgrim fathers could not have established a civilization upon these shores. Women like that great army of pioneers, who, taking their places beside their men and sharing their hardships and battles of adversity, played their valiant part in the foundation laying that has scattered ordered states from the banks of the Mississippi to the Pacific Coast.

Biologically speaking the part which women have played in human affairs as the mothers of men is incalculable and immeasurable. There are few men who do not carry with them through life the trace of some motherly influence, and I suspect there is sound truth in the common remark that whenever a man takes any tremendous risk or dares any heroic feat there is usually a woman in the case somewhere in the background. Love's young dream is after all more than an illusion and more things have been done and dared in this world in the strength of the passion of attraction—man for woman—than can be told. From the standpoint alone of the physical fortitude incidentally necessary to the function of motherhood, women have unquestionably made a vast and overwhelming contribution to the resources of human heroism.

Motherhood and fatherhood, while they are often coupled, are after all very unequal terms, and there is no measure of the difference that exalts motherhood above fatherhood. Nor is the sum total of woman's contribution to the enrichment of men to be by any means measured in the terms of simple physical maternity. Some one has well said that,

> thousands of our teachers throughout the world have been truer mothers to their children than the women who bore them. Legion are the women who, denied the joys and risks of maternity, have yet enriched the world by giving birth to ideals and opportunities that shall bring conscious gladness to millions unborn. Such women as Clara Barton, Susan B. Anthony, Jane Addams, not to mention remoter historical figures like Joan of Arc, have brought gifts of service to mankind far beyond what they would probably have given in their own homes, and out of celibacy have poured forth rich and matenal contribution to the world's need.

There has been much in the past history of the world, some of it doubtless due to the arrogance of men, some of it largely incidental and perhaps scarcely avoidable, some of it even consequent upon the physical nature of woman herself, that has tended for long centuries to hinder the progress of an approach to true sex equality and to remove from the limelight much of the contribution of womanhood to the welfare of the world; but with it all the history of human advancement upon this planet can only be written in the terms of the joint contribution of both men and women to the stream of life.

Today in America at least history begins anew and the part of woman in what is to be written must rank with all that men as men may risk or undertake. Henceforth, public affairs and political life know no sex. There is no longer masculinity and femininity, but only citizenship. In itself political enfranchisement may mean much or little. How much it will eventually mean depends in large part upon the recognition by women of their vital part in human affairs.

What we face today so far as women as such are concerned is not so much the creation of an entire new situation as the spectacle and fact of a situation deeply and seriously affected by the introduction of new elements into it. Many of the old relationships between the sexes will remain, we may presume, unchanged or only modified in harmony with what new circumstances may require, but to these will be added new relationships of widely vital, and in some respects perhaps of extremely critical potentiality. Marriage and parenthood will in the main, we take it, remain pretty much what they are. The deep physiological fact of sex cannot be eliminated from human affairs, nor is there any reason why its elimination should be desired. There is no reason why sex should not be the basis of a comradeship that is all the richer and deeper because a man is a man, and a woman, a woman. By far the greater part of what is deplorable in the world's present sex matters is due, not to the fact of sex itself, but to the perversions of human sexuality. Exalted to its true plane of cleanliness and dignity sex relationship may yet play an even mightier part in the affairs that affect human destinies.

Doubtless also distinctions as between the activities of men and women will continue to prevail. It is not unreasonable, however, to hope that eventually classifications will develop that will secure to the women those fields of activity in which they can do their best work in the world and in which their superiority exceeds that of men, at the same time reserving to men as men fields of labor, for which by reason of their more robust physique and freedom from the periodicities of femininity they are more naturally adapted.

But when full allowance is made for these things the fact still remains that henceforth the women of the world will inevitably play a new and increasingly important part in its affairs. Already women are taking their places in the parliaments of nations; and whether the number of women to assume the responsibilities of such offices prove to be large or small, the influence of women in our public affairs will be increasingly direct and important. In these things we cannot afford to develop sex competitions, and anything in the nature of sex antagonism would be baneful to the last degree. Somehow men and women have got to learn to pull together and play the game in the spirit of a deep and enriching comradeship. From now on the less we hear about men as men and women as women in our public affairs, and the more we hear about citizenship and mankind in the full generic sense of those terms the better.

The very newness of the emergence of women into our public life is in itself large with potential possibility. It is one of the obvious things of life that both privileges and responsibilities often become vitiated with time, and that new opportunities, new privileges, and new responsibilities usually carry with them the most hopeful elements of new enthusiasms and new enterprise. The old saying that, "New brooms sweep clean," has more than the fact of its familiarity to support it, and the very newness of the part of women

in the affairs of the world constitutes a tremendous opportunity.

Never before, perhaps, in the world's history was the time so ripe for the introduction of new elements and new influences into the world's affairs. This is, indeed, a psychological and dramatic moment for the emergence of womanhood into direct political action. What we have been witnessing in recent years in the world, it seems to me, is something deeper than many realize. We are living today in what is unquestionably one of the most crucial periods of human history, and there is a reason for its critical cruciality. I do not myself believe that the recent war is entirely the cause of our present critical situation. What the war has done is to dramatize the situation, perhaps also to focus some of its deepest forces and to hasten a world-wide consciousness of inevitable change.

From one angle at least it is not inappropriate to trace the most vital elements in the present world situation to *Growth,* and to say that no small part of the world's trouble is that it has outgrown its older clothes. New growth is always attended, not only by growing pains, but by elements and conditions that are exceedingly critical. There are always some people who want to keep school boys in knickerbockers long after they have reached the time for long trousers. If this world were not a growing affair, it would be a dreary place to inhabit, and human life could have but little ultimate meaning, but because it is a growing affair, life in it is necessarily fraught with critical issues and momentous periods, not merely in the individual but in the widest sense.

So long a vista of progress do I seem to glimpse for mankind that I scarce know whether it is more proper to speak of the present issue in the terms of the swaddling clothes of infancy, or the later developments of adolescence. Plainly enough nations have outgrown many of the old boundaries and most, if not all of the old insular provincialisms. A little while ago the people of the world were something like children, playing in their own back yards, each in their separate and very limited private groups. Now all of a sudden, and before half the world seems to realize it, we have grown up and find that the back yard is altogether too limited a space for our enterprise. All the little back yard groups are now out on the street, so to speak, and are only now waking up to the fact that if we are to get along anyhow together, we have somehow got to learn to play together. The situation is inevitably complicated by all sorts of old back yard prejudices that we have brought with us into the street. Some of us never did like that crowd in the back yard a few doors higher up the street, and we hate to think of having them run over our front lawn with the rest. But there is going to be endless trouble in the street, unless we do got accustomed to and adjust ourselves in harmony with the new circumstances. Whether we like it or lump it, we have got to go to school together and sit in the same classroom. The bully has got to learn that he cannot have things always as he wants them and that the morale of the school cannot tolerate some of his old ways; that what we are in school for, is to learn and not to fight: while the timid children have got to learn that they too have their rightful place in the school, and that education aims at the advancement of all, and not simply at the success of the class prize winners. Uncle Sam's continent, John Bull's other island, together with his homeland, the Jap Archipelago, and a multitude of other dominions encircled by real or imaginary boundary lines are no longer private back yards, where we can keep pigs and chickens, or keep them not, as we choose. They are parts of one world where, whether pigs or chickens are kept in one, is of vital concern to all the rest. Even the kind of dogs we keep, especially if they are of known vicious tendencies, must be taken into account. Sanity no less than sanitation now requires the early adoption and practice of mutual laws of health and well-being. So long as people live miles apart in the country, it is little more than a matter of individual concern how they live and what they keep on their property, but when people all live on the same street, and pretty close together at that, what they do and what they keep, even on the property that is strictly their own, makes a whole lot of difference to all their neighbors; and that is very much the situation in the world today. The actual developments of progress, or what you may call, if you will, the natural growth of human institutions and affairs, have thrown all the people of the world into close and critical proximity. A hundred years ago it was of no great consequence to America what sort of a quarrel Russia had with Germany, or France with Italy, or how long they quarreled. It did not concern us very much anyway, and we could afford to laugh at the way some people called each other names and tore at each others' clothes and hair. But it is a very different matter now-a-days. On the world's new Main Street a squabble means a general disturbance and a big fire involves a general jeopardy. All of which is simply a homely way of expressing the truth that the women of America have emerged in the freshness of their new citizenship into a situation fraught with peril and of delicate and intricate cruciality, a situation that beyond all else demands new vision, much courage, and altogether new foresight and enterprise.

This political aspect of affairs, after all, however, is not the most fundamental fact in our present situation. The world's problem is not primarily political. It is primarily moral, as we are learning now to see as never before. The best political expedients that can be devised will not get us far, unless we have the right spirit within us. And it is an infinitely harder thing to change the mind of a man and the spirit of a nation's

life than it is to create a new constitution, or to set up a president in the place of a king.

Of all human needs mutual trustfulness as between man and man, and nation and nation, is the paramount need in the world's affairs at this time. It is not merely kings and emperors and battleships that are in the balance today; it is the will of the people of the world to peace and mutual helpfulness; it is the moral quality and fibre of every individual citizen of the world, whether of America, Japan, Great Britain, France, or any other nation. If ever the world needed moral leadership and spiritual vision it is at this time. The direst of all human poverty today is the lack of leadership in those new ways of living for mankind that are vital and essential, if the world is to be saved to human life and for larger conquests of the human spirit.

Oh! Our politics are so petty and our sympathies so provincial, and the need is so vast for comprehensive vision and courageous endeavor. We allow the turn of an eyebrow, and the color of a complexion and the lingo of a dialect to fetter our minds and determine our sympathies, while all the while, the world over, human hearts are hungering for the literal bread of life and for that fellowship of spirit in which alone is our salvation.

God grant to the women of the world to see the vision of its innermost need and to feel the pulse throbs of the new life that is waiting to be born, and a courage to shame the old cowardice of men. Women of America, will you not show us how to dare the risks that attend the birth of this great new spirit upon which all the world waits. That is what we need—all of us—courage! Courage to dare the uttermost for the sake of mankind; courage to trust the good that lies buried in human hearts, and of which there is too much evidence to ever doubt the reality.

Men have dared sometimes. Jesus dared the cross, and Socrates drank the hemlock, and an unnamed throng through the long centuries have faced fire and peril and sword and cruel torture and darkest dungeon for the sake of things held dear. Why can we not all dare again, and dare for something bigger than men have ever tried for—even a world made free, not from tyranny alone, but from every selfish, petty motive that despoils the joy and degrades the dignity of our human lives? Why can we not dare collectively, as peoples and nations, and not simply as individuals—dare the utmost for the highest?

Women of America, we function today, you and I, and all our friends and neighbors, in a sphere that in one way or another includes the whole world and every human interest. It matters enormously to the whole world today how you women of America think and feel and how you face and act. The responsibility of a new day and the burden of a new civilization is upon you. No men or women ever lived at a time when the individual influence of even a single human life could be made to count for as much as it does today.

EDMUND HENRY REEMAN.

What the Mob Mind Does!

The Council of the "World Alliance for International Friendship through the Churches" publishes a monthly pamphlet to further the idea of "cementing friendships between nations." This pamphlet is called *World Friendship*. The idea is excellent; what else do the churches exist for? The little journal prints much that is excellent, drawn from many sources. But see how subtly the poison of the World War still infects the mind of the well-meaning editor in the course of a single article. Thus, in referring to the apprehensions of the French concerning the designs of Germany, he says: "Twice they have been burglarized, the last time in the most wanton and brutal manner." Suppose this were a fair statement, as in this form, it surely is not. What should a good friend of France, desiring to cement friendships everywhere, and by consequence to renew friendships between the good people of France and Germany, try to answer in respect to this pestilent French fear of her nearest neighbor? Should he not kindly show the French, that the disputed provinces of Alsace and Lorraine had never belonged either to France or to Prussia, but to their own people; and that France is now again, and not for the first time, asserting the same old barbarous rule of conquest over them, that Bismarck invoked a half century ago; that the only just, humane, "Christian" way to heal this ancient sore lies exactly opposite to what the militarists did in the Treaty of Versailles; and finally that friendship will come with the first movement of the spirit of reconciliation, as the life blood returns to a limb, when you remove a weight that has crushed it.

Our editor goes on to say, that the French people "have not the slightest trust in Germany—even when she appears friendly"; and that "even were the Germans sincere, the French can hardly bring themselves to believe it." Why not then frankly tell the Frenchman, and everyone, why this frantic state of mind prevails? Why not tell them that the worst thing that always comes to pass, when the victor attempts to punish the vanquished, and especially, when he inflicts terrible reprisals, as France now insists upon doing, is that the act not only tempts the defeated foe to seek to "get back" at the other, but it possesses the victor with a whole new assortment of vicious fears and suspicions, and destroys his peace. This is the spiritual tragedy of victory by violence. It is thus that the living God puts up again the solemn but wholesome

warning: "No Thoroughfare" athwart the track of war.

Once more, the editor of *World Friendship,* who seems rather obsessed with the possibility of a coming German invasion, goes on to say that, if Germany were to venture to attack France, in the face of the four-power pact just made at Washington, the indignation in the United States would be such that we "would rush to annihilate (*sic*) the attacking nation without a moment's pause"! Is this Christian talk? Is this the current church doctrine for such a time as this? We are reminded of that startling story of unregenerate human nature confronting the Christ, where the disciples, angry at a mean denial of hospitality from people whom they despised, cry out: "Lord, wilt thou that we command fire to come down from heaven, and consume them, as Elias did?" But he turned and rebuked them and said, "Ye know not what manner of spirit ye are of."

It is terrible not to see these things. It is more terrible to see them, and not to practice them, and not to grow modest as we practice them. Let us lay no word of blame upon our editor, who is full of chivalrous and kindly impulses. He and many another good man still suffer from the "mob mind," which the World War provoked. As Unity has tried repeatedly to show, the renewal and cementing of friendships between all the peoples of the world hangs upon the removal of a colossal falsehood, viz., the rankling, ugly and cruel prepossession befogging the late Allied Nations, and probably stronger, more preposterous, more obstinate and uninformed, and weighted with heavier prejudices in the United States than anywhere else, that Germany was the sole guilty nation, the black sheep among all the rest, and that she had planned and made the war! President Wilson truly said, that we had no quarrel with the German people. But since we made a conquest of Germany, we have transferred the indignation, which we had been so swift to launch upon the German Government, to the millions of unfortunate and innocent German people, so that a Doctor of Christian Divinity can contemplate our rushing to *annihilate* the nation!

Charles F. Dole.

Results of the Washington Conference

By James G. McDonald*

[Note: We had proposed writing an article in survey of the results of the Washington Conference. Here is an article, however, which tells the tale so fairly and accurately that we feel we cannot improve upon it. We reprint it from *The Standard*.—Editors.]

It is easy to be a cynic and deny that anything substantial has been accomplished in Washington. It is easy to be an enthusiast and insist that the Conference has been an unqualified success. It is much more difficult to assess fairly the real accomplishments of the last two months, keeping in mind always the limited scope of the Conference as outlined in Mr. Hughes' original agenda, and recognizing fully the favorable and unfavorable elements in the political atmosphere at Washington and abroad.

The agenda proposed by this Government included three fundamental planks:

(1) the limitation of land armament, (2) the limitation of naval armament, and (3) the adjustment of Pacific and Far Eastern affairs in such a way as to minimize or remove the causes of international friction.

It will perhaps be most illuminating to discuss the results of the Conference, first from the point of view of each of these three specific topics, and then from the less tangible, but more important viewpoint of its general effect as the most important conference since that at Paris which produced the series of ineffectual "peace" treaties.

No limitation whatsoever of military force has been secured. The attitude of France, inspired partly by pique, more by the desire of Briand to maintain his position at home, and by the old-fashioned conception of the need of force to support a diplomatic policy rather than by the alleged desire for security, was more than sufficient to prevent anything being done to reduce armies by international agreement. But it is not France alone that should be blamed for this complete failure. The non-inclusion of Russia and Germany in the Conference, and the almost universal condition of political and economic instability in Continental Europe made a reduction of armies very difficult.

Moreover, no limitation whatsoever on the development of aeroplane warfare has been secured, due, nominally at least, to the inability of the delegates to determine any basis of distinction between commercial and military aerial development.

A resolution declaring the use of poison gas in warfare as illegal has been passed. One may be pardoned, however, for doubting whether in any serious international strife in the future this pious resolution will be effective. But it will be useful at least in curbing the force of the chemical interests which would have us prepare on vast scale for chemical warfare.

Apparently no attempt has been made even to consider the limitation or abolition of the private manufacture of munitions for either land or naval warfare. One need not go so far as to assert that private financial interests in such manufacture cause wars. It is indisputable that such private interest in the materials used solely for warfare tends to lessen the pacific force in a great industrial state and to strengthen those elements of jingoistic nationalism which so easily find excuse for war. The failure to consider this phase of the armament problem, though it may be excused by the limited representation at the Conference, none the less constitutes a serious item on the debit side of the ledger.

Nothing, then, has been done to limit land armaments in any particular save through the resolution outlawing the use of poison gas.

Naval limitation has been more measurably effected. Secretary Hughes, in reference to capital ships, had a

*The author of this article is Chairman of the Foreign Policy (formerly, League of Free Nations) Association.—Editor.

definite program supported by a carefully prepared and detailed study of the actual and proposed navies of all of the Great Powers. Unfortunately Japan's insistence on the retention of the *Mutsu*, her latest dreadnaught, has materially weakened Mr. Hughes' program. It is true most of the dreadnaughts now building are to be scrapped, but our Government is to complete two and Great Britain is to be permitted to build two. This means that the naval holiday, which was, according to the first suggestion, to be complete as far as capital ships are concerned, is materially modified. The ratio of 500,000 tons for the United States and Great Britain and 300,000 tons for Japan is the only suggestion of Mr. Hughes which remains essentially unimpaired. It was extended to include an apportionment of 175,000 tons for France and a similar tonnage for Italy. This agreement to spend less in the building of superdreadnaughts is doubtless a clear gain. Also, the fixing of the ratio of such vessels must to an extent minimize international naval rivalry and lessen suspicion and intrigue even if rivalry in auxiliary craft continues. Moreover, it constitutes a striking example of success gained because of a program clearly thought out and frankly presented.

On all other phases of naval armament, nothing or less than nothing has been done. No limitation whatsoever has been agreed upon in reference to the number of auxiliary craft. The Conference has satisfied itself with the declaration that no single cruiser may be larger than 10,000 tons, nor carry guns of more than eight inches. Aeroplane carriers were not only not reduced in number but rather the reverse. A ratio for this newest and, next to the capital ship, most expensive naval vessel was fixed at 135,000 tons for Great Britain and the United States, 81,000 for Japan, and 60,000 for each France and Italy. No carrier may be larger than 27,000 tons or be armed with more than eight-inch guns.

But it was on submarines that the Conference failed most completely. No limitation on the number, no limitation on the size, no effective limitation on the armament, is the record. Mr. Root has, of course, induced the Conference to agree to the restatement of an important phase of the law of naval war. Before a merchant vessel may be sunk, its papers must be examined and the crew and passengers placed in safety. This resolution doubtless has a measure of value as setting up again a standard which was so completely broken in the last war, but its great weakness is that it gives no assurance whatsoever that this standard will not again be broken in precisely the same way in the next war. Indeed, there is strong reason to believe that if submarines are in use and if one or more of the great powers are involved in war in the future, these weapons, which have been only really effective against merchant shipping in secret attacks, will be used precisely as they were used by the Germans.

But Mr. Root and his colleagues have gone somewhat further. They have agreed to a resolution, the effect of which is to declare that the submarine cannot be used against merchant shipping at all. This is to say that the submarine may not be used in the only way in which its peculiar construction makes it possible for it to be used to *any great military advantage*. In view of the violation during the last war by Great Britain and Germany of almost all neutral rights on the high seas which seemed to stand in the way of military advantage, we may perhaps be pardoned if we now express most emphatically our doubt of the real usefulness of either of these resolutions of the Conference, which seek to "civilize" submarine warfare.

Even, therefore, in reference to naval armament, it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that, save in reference to capital ships, little or no progress has been made.

Of the work of the Conference in removing causes of friction between the Great Powers in the Far East and in doing justice to China, it is more difficult to be definite. Certain specific results, however, have emerged. The Four-Power Treaty, by which Great Britain, France, Japan and the United States agree to respect the territorial integrity of each other's insular possessions and dominions in the Pacific is the most important. Its defects are obvious. It does not include China or Russia; it does not make clear whether the homeland of Japan is included among the dominions referred to; nor is it as clear as we might wish that force is not to be used to carry out its terms. Some of its ambiguities will probably be cleared up by an exchange of notes by the powers or by a Senatorial reservation. The advantages of the Four-Power Treaty are threefold. It automatically abrogates the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, a source of misunderstanding between the United States and Great Britain and of suspicion between the United States and Japan. It pledges the signatories to the principle of conference on disputed points which may arise, thus giving an opportunity for public opinion to make itself felt. Moreover, it tends largely to increase confidence between the United States and Japan. Ultimately, too, it may be enlarged to include China and Russia and thus its chief defect be removed. Its value, however, will, in the last analysis, depend not so much upon its specific terms as upon the sort of settlement which is finally effected by the Conference in reference to China, presumably to be embodied in a nine-power treaty. If this latter treaty commends itself to the conscience of the world as just and fair it will probably be ratified.

The agreement which will probably be arrived at between the United States and Japan not to fortify further certain possessions in the Pacific will still further remove causes of suspicion and misunderstanding.

Unfortunately, no progress has been made, or will likely be made, toward securing the withdrawal of Japanese troops from Siberia or in establishing more clearly the relations between the Far Eastern Republic and the rest of the world.

China itself has presented a maze of difficult problems. Only the optimist will venture with any assurance a prophecy that more than a very few of these are to be solved or a solution even attempted by the Washington Conference. The four general principles drafted by Mr. Root and ratified by the Conference as the basis for the settlement of specific Chinese questions are much weaker than the Chinese ten points urged at the outset of the Conference. Mr. Root's formula is so vague and general that, in view of the acceptance during the past century of similar formulas and their consistent violation by almost all the powers who assented to them, it gives others than the cynic occasion to measure the treatment of China not by these vague phrases but rather by the specific interpretations which the Conference places upon them. It is to be hoped that a compromise solution satisfactory both to China and Japan will be found for the vexed problem of Shantung. An agreement has been reached

for the gradual elimination of the foreign post offices. A study is to be made of the question of extraterritoriality with a view to determining whether the foreign courts are still needed. After months of discussion, China is apparently to be permitted to raise her tariff from three and one-half to five per cent ad valorem. The question of the removal of foreign troops in China without treaty sanction is to be studied. Nothing, however, has been done or will be done either in reference to the spheres of influence of Japan in Manchuria and Mongolia or in reference to the iniquitous twenty-one demands which forced on China during the war, would, if carried out in detail, give to Japan effective political and economic control of most of China. Certain minor concessions not enumerated above may be made to China.

It is evident, then, that China has gained very little from the Conference, measured by her desires. This is due, at least in part, to the weakness of the Peking Government, its poverty, its corruption, its inability to control effectively more than a small portion of the entire country. China is not united. It has no national conscience, in the sense in which we understand this. The real test of whether the Conference has been a success in Far Eastern matters will depend, not so much on the extent of the gains made by China, as on whether the fetters not now removed are given further sanction. If this last is not done, even if the gains of China are slight, the Conference will have made a beginning towards a just settlement of the problems of the Far East.

Aside from the specific results the Conference has aired some of the chief friction points in international relations. The problem of China is very much better understood now than three months ago. The position of France, her difficulties and the danger which she constitutes in international affairs stand out now in bold relief. Moreover, our people appreciate as never before the complexity and intricate interrelation of international affairs.

A fuller degree of co-operation between our Government and Great Britain is an outstanding result. If, as now seems likely, Ireland does not relapse into civil war, we may look forward to the sort of relations between the English-speaking peoples which will promise much for world peace.

Even if only qualifiedly successful in specific matters, the Washington gathering has shown the value of dealing with even the most critical international problems by conference rather than by the more secretive and often tortuous method of diplomacy. Our delegates and our people have learned as they could have learned in no other way the point of view of the other countries represented. Publicity has more than justified itself. Mr. Hughes' success with the capital ship program is a clear example of how public opinion, if given an opportunity, can make itself constructively helpful. The publicity at Washington is an advance of the greatest significance over Paris of three years ago. It is a happy augury of democratic control of international relations.

Less tangible, but perhaps most important of all the results of the Washington Conference, is the rebirth of the American people's interest in international affairs. If measured by the slough of isolation and "little Americanism" in which our politicians wallowed less than a year and a half ago, the attitude of public opinion today towards all phases of the world's problems is encouraging. It is to be hoped that this will hearten the Administration to continue to co-operate in international affairs and especially to play its full part in the International Economic Conference called at Genoa in March. This conference, including Germany and Russia, is the logical sequel to that of Washington. Genoa will see, if the United States is adequately represented there, by Mr. Hoover, for instance, the most promising attempt since the Armistice to rebuild the shattered fabric of the economic life of Europe.

TWO INVOCATIONS TO FREEDOM.

I.

The wild wind shrieking loudly through the night,
  The roar of streams and waterfalls that dash,
  The crashing thunder, the rain's gleeful splash,
Adown the darkness from the rocky height:

O wild song of the tempest and the rain!
  Thy mighty minstrelsy makes glad my soul;
  I listen to thy music roll and roll
From the black sky and mountain peak and plain.

In the loud, matchless measures of thy chords—
  Song of the mountain tempest, bold and free!
  There is an utterance of liberty
Surpassing all the powers of human words,

With what fierce joy thy swift and cleaving blast
  Blows down the torrent steep with shattering strength—
  O Freedom, has the time not come at length
To send thy tempest through the darkness vast?

Yea, let thy power omnipotent go forth
  With storm and lightnings through the hearts of men,
  Let thy strong thunders speak, till hill and glen
Reverberate thy accents o'er the earth.

With searching fire, and wrath, and judgment come,
  And cleave and crash for ever in the dust
  The cities, rottening with greed and lust,
Quench their foul incense in thy cleansing doom!

Flash!—flash! O see, O hearken, Freedom—thou!
  Canst thou abide and slumber in thy bed?
  Is not the time for sloth and dreaming fled?
Waits not the Day on the horizon now?

II.

Where sleeps, O Freedom, thy resistless might?
  Thy flameless bolts are sunken in the sod;
  Be thou no more as Jupiter, but God!—
Let thy strong love be lifted in our sight.

Yea, be thou God! and give to us a sign—
  Hold fast the earth with healing in thy hand,
  That we may feel thee, and so understand
That power and peace are adequately thine.

Thy storms, thy thunders and thy terrors cease;
  Send forth thy sun!—make sweet and pure the earth,
  That in the hearts of nations may have birth
The sovereignty of fellowship and peace.

Hallowed no more be wrath and strife and death,
  The torches glimmering in the sepulchres:
  Life is thy bride, so let thy strength be hers,
Let her arise rejoicing in thy breath.

Bring forth the Golden Years: O Golden Years!—
  When a man's last fear of man shall pass away,
  And a great gladness shall suffuse the day,
And a new song ascend amidst the spheres.

J. Bruce Glasier.

The World's Great Rebels and Heretics

No. VI.

JESUS, THE REBEL OF GALILEE.

What a transition from Spartacus to Jesus. One seeking the freedom of the oppressed by the blind means of force; fighting the tyranny of society in the world-old way; seeking to destroy evil by using more evil; the other seeking to free man by a new method, by the peaceful conquest of truth. Jesus understood that the world would fight his method just as much as it did that of Spartacus (or Judas of Galilee), (he said, I have come to send not peace but a sword on earth); but he saw the folly, the wrong, of fighting with weapons of violence.

Ernest Crosby has a poem somewhere on "The Man With the Folded Hands"; he shows that the hardest man for the tyrant to fight, is the man who will not fight back with the tyrant's own tools, but who stands, calm and confident, with folded hands—knowing he has truth on his side and can afford to wait.

Jesus defied almost every convention; he mingled with sinners and harlots; he set aside religious customs of age-old authority; he refused to bow before those whom the world calls great. What a vexation he was to the smug ruling classes of his day. And he was aggressive: the record brings down to us the accusation, "He is one that stirreth up the people." Jesus was a child of Galilee, a self-reliant and rebellious people, giving the Roman rulers much trouble; as a lad Jesus saw an insurrection of violence put down with ruthless slaughter; to him came the higher light of winning by new weapons, truth and love. And when we see a Tolstoy standing in the most absolute of modern monarchies, by the great power of his moral courage defying that ruler with impunity while others were exiled; when we see a Ghandi swaying millions to a banner of non-co-operation; when we see these things, somehow the methods of the Great Rebel of Galilee do not seem quite so strange as they once did.

Jesus had the philosophy of the martyr. He felt his work was so important for the world, that it were better one man should die, even if that one be himself, rather than his message should be lost.

The records are fragmentary, we cannot to entire satisfaction say exactly what Jesus taught in all particulars; but we know he was so radical in religion as to bring down upon himself the hate of the established religious leaders; and he was radical enough along social and political lines to bring down upon him the enmity of the Roman leaders, who cared not a whit about religious sects.

The wisdom of the far-seeing Galilean Rebel is being justified more and more by experience. Nothing sets men free but the truth. Ignorance is the great binder of chains upon mankind. Force never solves any problems; war makes more problems than it solves; only seeing the light and following it, makes mankind free. A victorious army only proves which side is stronger: a single man with truth on his side blazes the way and becomes the emancipator. In a world still bound by ignorance, with men like Plato's cave-dwellers, fearfully looking at their own shadows, nothing is so revolutionary as truth. The startling way Jesus looked at life and human institutions is as dynamite in society. Of all rebels, none have ever been a small part so dangerous to a stupid world, as the Rebel from Galilee. His words, his philosophy of life, his life itself, was and ever is—a constant challenge to the world as men live it. There is no harmonizing of the words and life of Jesus with the existing institutions of the mankind. The beatitudes do not fit the institutions of mankind, and they cannot be made to fit; these must be destroyed if we are to really follow Jesus. Armies, navies, law courts, industrial slavery, economic inequality, these must go; and love, justice and equality replace them, if we are to really take Jesus seriously.

ROLAND D. SAWYER.

A Prayer for "the Servants of God"

O thou who art the Source of Light, and Truth, and Power, give vision, we pray thee, to those, who, known amongst us as the "Servants of God" are "set apart" to reveal thee and to declare thy purposes to the minds of the Children of Men.

"For where there is no vision the people perish."

These "Shepherds of the Sheep" whether Jewish Rabbi or Catholic Priest, Established Clergyman or Nonconformist Divine, Unitarian Minister or Unordained Preacher of "the word" are in happy unity in proclaiming thee as our Common Father.

And because they claim thee as our Common Father, they call upon us to obey thy laws and to establish thy Kingdom on Earth.

But as "Guardians of Thy Truth" they do not lead the crusade against the Lie which usurps Truth at the physical foundations of life, and the removal of which is essential to the inauguration of Thy Kingdom on Earth.

The very law of our being constitutes equality of co-heirship in thy Providence. For if we are all equally thy Children it must follow that we are all equally dependent upon thee for the means of life, and that in the meeting of such needs thou canst be no respector of persons without rendering justice null and void.

And thy Providence to us crystallizes itself in land, for therein dost thou provide for all our physical needs and material necessities, and in no other way. But though thy law decrees that we are all equally co-heirs to thy material estate during our sojourn thereon, a Lie has made it the private perquisite of a privileged few, and these thereby possess a power to deny to others the rights to life, to liberty and to the pursuit of happiness.

This lie at the very roots of life does with merciless inevitableness block the way to the doing of thy will on earth as it is done in heaven.

For the Kingdom of God cannot be built upon a Lie.

We pray therefore that thou wilt so clarify the vision of thy servants, that they may see and understand why justice tarries, and understanding they will unite, with the same completeness which characterizes that unity they display in proclaiming thee as "Our Father," in a crusade for the removal of this lie which renders thy Truth inoperative.

Give vision, we pray thee, for where there is no vision the people perish.—Amen!

Huddersfield, England. JOHN ARCHER.

Today well lived makes
Every yesterday a Dream of Happiness,
Every tomorrow a Vision of Hope;
Look well therefore to this Day.

—*From Salutation to the Dawn (Sanskrit).*

CORRESPONDENCE

A Letter to the Milwaukee *Leader*

Editor, Milwaukee *Leader,*
Milwaukee, Wis.
Dear Sir:

I have seen in the New York *Call* a reprint of your editorial reference to UNITY's endorsement of Mr. S. O. Levinson's program for the outlawry of war.

You say, "We fear the editor forgot his non-resistant principles when this was written"; and in evidence of this you refer to the use of force as embodied in a world army and a world navy. "Deliver us," you say, "from an inter-nation that sports a world army and a world navy with which to enforce its decrees and punish offending nations."

I am sorry that you should have commented on this program and UNITY's endorsement thereof without having read its terms. The program for the outlawry of war does not provide for a world army and a world navy. Nowhere is there any proposal that there shall be an inter-nation armed with the instruments of war. On the contrary, it is specifically laid down that the decrees of the proposed international court, like the decrees of the United States Supreme Court in disputes between states, shall be enforcible by public opinion only. On page 20 of the printed program it is stated that "much may be said in favor of an international force or a force contributed to by various nations to aid in the execution of the inter-nation court's civil decrees," but nowhere is this argument approved or adopted.

The only exception is in the matter of the arming of the international court with police power (not an international army or navy) to "punish war criminals." I personally regret even this minimum of reliance upon force, and can not endorse it. On the other hand, however, I can not close my eyes to the fact that this is historically the method by which we have eliminated force in individual relations (see duelling); and I see no way of avoiding this method in international relations. In any case, I do not see how difference of opinion in this point necessitates rejection of the entire scheme. Must every item of a program square with our utmost convictions before we give it endorsement? Certainly not on this issue, for I agree with the author when he says that this issue does "not affect the reason for outlawing war" (page 20).

It is this one plank of the outlawry of war by the assertion of moral judgment which wins my endorsement of the program as a non-resistant in spite of dissent on certain incidental points, as see the item on the Swiss army system. This is an attempt to shift the moral sentiment of the world from war to peace by making war a crime rather than a thing of glory and renown. One of the *causes* of war, the eradication of which you rightly say "is the only means of getting rid of war," is the psychological attitude which we hold toward it as a result of unnumbered centuries of tradition and practice. It is this precedent which this program would break once for all. Let the intellectual and moral judgment of the world say in so many words that war is a crime, and you get at once a new spiritual frontage which is essential to the solution of the problem. This does not eliminate the need of dealing with the political and economic causes of war; rather is it a supplement thereto. The two things go along together; and this particular act of outlawry is not only consistent with non-resistant principles but is an exact formulation of them.

That the thing can not be done is, of course, possible. But I seem somewhere to have heard that argument presented against your remedy of socializing industries. I have yet to see any program for the abolition of war which was automatically workable. Your scheme is fundamental and final, and I am with you on it to the limit. But it can not be put into effect tomorrow or the next day. The reconstruction of society along socialistic lines is a job so stupendous that it is going to take years or generations for its accomplishment. Meanwhile, are we going to do nothing about this problem of war? Are we going to sit around and wait for the next war to devour us all? Why not adopt this interim policy directed at legal and psychological factors, and see if it will not help us to the achievement of the greater end? It can not hurt us. It may help us.

Very sincerely yours,
John Haynes Holmes.

Christianity and Asia

To the Editors of UNITY:

I wonder if UNITY would not like to print the following extracts from Paul Richards' powerful book, "The Scourge of Christ." The citations seem to me to be given more significance by the fact that I find them quoted with strong endorsement on the front page of a paper just received from India—from India, a great Asiatic country held in subjection by the warships, machine guns and bombing airplanes of a European "Christian" nation. More than two-thirds of all Asia is under the dominance (dominance by the sword) of Christian Europe. There is nothing upon which Europe (and also the United States) is more eagerly intent, than upon the economic exploitation of Asia. We send Christian missionaries to Asia to convert her "heathen" peoples to Christianity. What kind of a Christianity and what kind of a Christ do they preach, what kind of a Christianity and what kind of a Christ do our capitalistic exploiters, and our diplomatists and warships backing up our exploiters, preach? And how are their Christianity and their Christ welcomed? Let the answer come from the plain words of Paul Richards, and from the fact that his words are eagerly caught up and quoted in Asia as utterances of burning truth.

J. T. SUNDERLAND.

FROM RICHARDS.

Christians worship one Son of Asia . . . at a great cost to the others.

Europe finds it natural to take one Man of Asia as Master, and all his brothers as slaves.

Christians think that since one Asiatic alone is the Son of God, the rest can fairly be treated as sons of the Devil.

The Christianity of Christ died when Asia ceased to teach it.

* * *

When Christ comes again He will have to give up being an Asiatic and a Carpenter if He wishes to be admitted into the Christian countries of America and Australia.

If it pleased the "native" of Judea to reappear as a "native of India," how many Englishmen would remain Christians?

If Christ came again, would He not choose again to be a son of the enslaved people rather than a citizen of the Empire?

The Christ, if He comes, will not be of the white race; the colored peoples could not put their faith in Him.

If Christ has not changed His ideas, Christians will have, when He returns, to change their habits.

* * *

The Gospel is not only for individuals; it is also for the nations.

The nation too must learn: Thou shalt not steal the land

of others; thou shalt not kill defenseless nationalities; thou shalt not commit adultery with colonies and dominions; thou shalt not bear false witness against enemy governments. . . . And the supreme command: Thou shalt love thy neighbor—all peoples whatsoever, black, yellow, white, African or Asiatic, strong or weak, small or great—thou shalt love as thyself.

It is for the nations that this was written: This is my commandment, that ye love one another . . . ye are members one of another . . . do not unto others what ye would not, they should do unto you. Judge not that ye be not judged. . . . Let him who is without sin throw the first stone. . . . Remit your debts to one another. . . . Forgive your enemies.

For the nations it is written: Thou wicked servant, because thou hast not forgiven the debt of another, thou shalt be delivered to the executioner. . . . Agree quickly with thine adversary, lest haply thine adversary deliver thee to the judge, and the judge to the officer and thou be cast into prison. Verily, I say unto thee, thou shalt by no means come out until thou hast paid the last farthing. So shall it be done to you, O nation! if you forgive not everyone your brother nation from your heart.

If thou wouldst be perfect, first go, liberate all thy colonies, and then come, follow me, said Jesus to the rich nation.

THE STUDY TABLE

Book Notes

CHRISTIANITY IN ITS MODERN EXPRESSION. By George Burman Foster; edited by D. C. Macintosh. Macmillan, New York. pp. 294.

Let the casual reader beware if he thinks to master this book without careful and serious study. This is a work for students, the posthumous appearance of a course of lectures presented to students in the University of Chicago, through a number of years of active service. It is the projection of a great soul and the final embodiment of the teaching through which Professor Foster made a remarkable contribution to religious thought. The arrangement of the material is thoroughly systematic as it was presented in the classroom, and the Professor's interpolated comments are carried in numerous notes in the text. Every bit of the text and notes is significant. Perhaps the best short criticism that can be given is an indorsement of the statements of the book's wrapper. "While the great Christian fundamentals do not change, modes of thought and fashions of expression change materially in comparatively short periods of time. Unless these Christian fundamentals are restated in the modes of thought and fashions in expression that have newly come in, the life of the world goes on its way and they fall into increasing neglect. Only a rare nature that can probe far into the depths of the human spirit can do this large, positive, constructive work for his age, as Professor Foster has done in "Christianity in Its Modern Expression."

THE CONTENTS OF THE NEW TESTAMENT: AN INTRODUCTORY COURSE. By Haven McClure. New York: Macmillan, 1921. pp. 218. $1.50.

After reading Mr. McClure's declaration that his "treatment of materials, particularly concerning the humanity of Jesus and of Paul [had been] commended alike by Protestant, Catholic and Jew," the reader will approach the book with considerable eagerness and some skepticism. The author's viewpoint is detached, and the work is in no way controversial or argumentative. Facts are arranged systematically and precisely, and from these facts conclusions are drawn with care and good judgment. The conception of Jesus is scholarly and thoroughly up-to-date. The treatment is simple, and though prepared originally as a course for high school students, to whose needs it is well adapted, it need be scorned by no one.

OLD TESTAMENT PROPHECY. By Frank K. Sanders. New York: Scribners. 1921. pp. vii, 102. $1.25.

In "Old Testament Prophecy," Dr. Sanders has added another very usable little text to the Life and Religion Series. It is neither exhaustive nor critical, but it serves well as a working introduction to the prophets of Israel.

SEX FOR PARENTS AND TEACHERS. By William Leland Stowell, M. D. The Macmillan Company. New York. pp. 204.

It certainly seems as though there could be no excuse for the failure of intelligent parents to give their children adequate sex instruction with such a book as this available. The treatment is comprehensive and the detail is ample for all practical purposes. It is the method of handling rather than the material presented that is most notable. The developmental idea of sex instruction is well worked out, and the attitude throughout the book is the very best. A feature of considerable value is the ample illustration by drawings and photographs. Of course the work is not capable of automatic application, and it needs a good constructive imagination and sympathetic understanding on the part of the mentor. It is to be highly recommended to all who have to face the problem of sex instruction or who are otherwise interested in it.

PROJECTIVE ORNAMENT. By Claud Bragdon. The Manas Press. Rochester, New York. pp. 79.

Hypersolids of the fourth dimension and their projection in two dimensions form the basis of an attempt by Mr. Bragdon to formulate a system by which new designs may be achieved that will enrich this art impoverished age. In such a time as this we have no business turning to the boneyards of the past, but we are divorced from the land and nature contacts, and individual styles are not sufficiently general or flexible to be useful as decorative systems. The fundamentals of design in nature, geometrical patterns, are taken by Mr. Bragdon for his point of departure. The volume is small, and from the detail of explanation it is intended as an artist's handbook; not as a general defense of or plea for his system. Anyone, though, who prides himself upon his acquaintance with modern art tendencies needs this introduction to projective ornament, "the rhythmic division of space expressed through the figures of Projective Geometry." Technically the book is delightful. The very clear exposition is accompanied by a number of examples and diagrams, and there are several full-page illustrations of the possibilities of projective ornament in actual use.

SATURDAY PAPERS. By H. S. Canby, W. R. Benet, and Amy Loveman. New York: Macmillan, 1921. pp. 133. $1.00.

These short essays on literature going by the name of "Saturday Papers" are reprints from the *The Literary Review* of the New York *Evening Post*. They are short, interesting, pointed, and even stimulating in spots, but tomorrow they will be as dead as the literature with which they concern themselves.

B. F. M.

THE FIELD.

"The World is my country, to do good is my Religion"

LAJPAT RAI.

Under date of February 8 the Rev. J. T. Sunderland writes the UNITY office:

"Word has just come by cable that the sentence pronounced on Mr. Lajpat Rai is 'one year, with rigorous labor,' which alarms his friends, lest at his age, and with his frail health, it may result in his death."

AMERICAN MEDICAL AID FOR RUSSIA.

To the Editor:—I cannot but feel that the enclosed letter, written to his colleagues by the head of the Public Health Service of Soviet Russia, Dr. N. Semashko, tells its own story of desperate need and courageous effort better than I can do it, and I pray the courtesy of your columns for its wider circulation.

"Allow me most deeply and warmly to thank you for the great help you have given us.

"Russia is in deep trouble this year, as you know. Twenty-five million people will suffer hunger, millions will die of starvation. As is always the case in social catastrophes, the first to suffer are the children. The cry of the little children carries far beyond the famine-stricken plains of the Volga. And disease follows famine. Fortunately we have mastered the cholera epidemic, but typhoid and typhus threaten us this winter.

"Famine has brought disintegration to our medical work, even in Moscow. Our losses in the medical profession itself are heavy on the epidemic front. We were strangulated by the blockade, but we introduced sanitary standards unknown under czarism. Since 1918 we have multiplied by ten the number of state supported hospital beds in Russia. We have created new machinery to combat tuberculosis and the venereal diseases and to safeguard mothers and babies. With tremendous labor we have laid the foundations for the enlightened care of our people, and it hurts to see that in this year of our bitter trial, the work of our hands must suffer collapse.

"The American Relief Administration is feeding large numbers of our starving children. For this humanitarian aid we send our deepest gratitude to the American people. But I beg you to give us medical help. Send us drugs—malaria infests the Volga Valley, and, aggravated by hunger, malaria has a terrible malignancy. Send us food for our hospitals. Send us surgical and medical instruments, laboratory equipment, ambulances.

"I am convinced that your appeal for help will find a broad response among the American people. Sanitation in Russia is a human problem, not a political problem. We labor to raise Russia out of the darkness of the past, and this aim should be clear to the mind and close to the heart of all enlightened people.

"In this assurance, I wish you success in your work.

"N. SEMASHKO, M.D."

Dr. Semashko asks America for the kind of medical aid which we possess in such peculiar richness—hospital equipment. He has asked this office to furnish a 500-bed hospital for general work, as well as for the care and study of typhus, in the city of Moscow. The needs of that other terrible epidemic front in the Volga Valley have been published by Capt. Paxton Hibben, secretary of the Russian Commission of the Near East Relief, who has recently returned from a 5,000 mile journey through Russia. Fifty base hospitals in the Volga Valley would not touch one another's elbows. The United States Congress has just granted $20,000,000 for the relief of Russian distress; it is less well known that the Italian government, acting in conjunction with the Italian Red Cross, has signed an agreement with the soviet representative to open eighteen medical and food stations in the famine district.

It has seemed to me that we of the American profession would respond with a generous and ready hand to the needs of our Russian colleagues, if such were understood. Since 1914, Russia has been cut off from medical books and current medical literature, and the professional contacts which are dear to all of us. Her medical men and women, and her scientific workers and laboratory experts now ask for publications to be distributed to three centers, Moscow University, Petrograd University, and the Academy of Science. They ask for books, original studies, reprints concerning medicine and public health, and files of single issues of scientific and medical journals issued since 1914. Gifts of these, or money for their purchase, and gifts for the outfitting of the American hospital in Moscow, will be gratefully received by this office. And I personally beg for a generous and immediate response.

—Michael Michailovsky, M.D.,
103 Park Avenue, New York.
Representative in America of the Public Health Service of Russia.

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